●183 A few random notes on virtues follow:

A *good* boy would get himself a blanket of wildcat skin. He would get water and wood and help his mother cook.

My daughters were good girls; they never scolded.

A good woman did not sneak around at night.

562 In the old days a woman walked a short distance behind her
593 husband. She did not walk with another man, otherwise her husband would be jealous. Horses were owned by the man. He and his wife both rode, but if they had children, the woman and children rode and the man walked.

576 Visitors might enter without knocking or salutation. They were
574 assigned no special place or seat of honor but were always offered food. A somewhat less friendly reception was pictured by one informant:

When a stranger comes, make him get out. If he is good looking and has good clothes, give him food, but don't let him come inside; he might steal.

264 Formerly the Paiute ate twice a day, morning and evening; although Mettie Petty remarked that they "ate any time, four or five times a day if they had the chance." Men and women ate together, seated about the fire.

513 A person took care to sleep with his feet to the fire. If his head were toward the fire his front hair would turn white.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

622 Political organization was at a minimum with the band as the only
619 recognized political unit. There does seem to have been a definite feeling for band membership. Each band had a chief (mu'pavi') of sorts, a man of influence who "told his people what to do and where to hunt"; who entertained visitors at camp; who interviewed a thief and directed him to return stolen property. Tom Anderson reported four Paiute chiefs in the old days, one to the northeast, one to the east, one to the southeast, and one to the south—obvious systematizing.

622 Ochiho was chief of the Gidü'tikad[4] at the time of the white advent
173 and until his death some years ago. Daisy, Nannie, and Joshua thought that there had been no chief before him. Joshua went on to say that "there was no chief in the old days; they had only the boss for hunting." Piudy alone was able to name Ochiho's predecessor. His name was Sa'ᵑka'ma'd, and he was Ochiho's elder brother. According to Piudy, he was chief "long before the white people came." Beatty informants were equally vague as to chieftainship,

361 621 592 [595] holds. In the camp at what is now Caesar's Ranch there were three households. The head of Household 1 was the brother of the head of Household 2. The sisters of these two men and their husband (they were married to the same man) made up Household 3. One brother also had two wives who were sisters. At the camp at Wright's Point there were four households. In Household 1 lived a man and his wife and two unmarried sons and one unmarried daughter. In another house (Household 2) lived a man and his wife and daughter, and next door to him (Household 3) lived his brother with his family. Household 4 consisted of a man and wife, their married daughter and her husband, and an unmarried son. Thus it would seem that the constituent households in camps were sometimes brothers and their families, sometimes brothers and sisters and their families, sometimes families with married daughters or married sons living in the household or close by, and sometimes unrelated families.

262 224 [476] [731] [231] *Wada, tsuga, yapa,* crickets, chokecherries, some dried meat and dried fish made up the winter food supply. Rabbits were occasionally snared; sometimes nets were put out in the snow and communal drives were held. Often the food supplies ran very low before spring. Sometimes one camp group ran out of food and moved over and joined another group which still had supplies. Food was always shared, even with people from other bands. One famine was recorded when large groups of Tagu Eaters came over from the Jordan Valley and ate Wada Eaters' food. When there were horses they were usually eaten before the end of winter.

596 462 476 Of all the economic pursuits, very few called for the cooperation of more than an extended family. Root, seed, and berry gathering were done by the women of the household. Hunting might be done by individual men, by brothers, fathers and sons, or by several unrelated men, but cooperation was not essential except in the antelope and rabbit drives. The large salmon traps were also made by several men. However, individual families could and did exist almost exclusively by themselves. There was one family which was particularly noted for its independence. This man with his wife and children even wintered alone.

[621] 183 In spite of the fact that cooperation between households was not absolutely essential, from the fall until spring most individual families preferred to live with other people. Beginning with the *wada* season, the dances, games, doctorings and the communal antelope and rabbit drives brought the people together in cooperative enterprises. During the long winter months when there were few economic pursuits, they had companionship and opportunity to get aid if they ran short of food. Similarly, even in the summer months, if it was possible for a group of individuals to get enough food from the terrain to live in large aggregations, they gathered at these places. In general, however, it was impractical inasmuch as the food supply was not too plentiful in any one locale and would soon be exhausted if many families tried to eat and save for winter at the same time. The cricket season at Cow Creek and the fishing season at Drewsey were two notable exceptions.

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Theoretically, no one should reveal the fact that he has power nor tell his dreams. To do so would antagonize the spirit and result in the loss of power. Actually there is constant gossiping and speculation in the community as to who is gifted. Furthermore, it gives prestige to have power and some proud parents cannot resist hinting at the peculiar gifts of their children. Children, on the other hand, get their instructions in power from their family and naturally turn to them for guidance.

The above discussion would lead one to expect a great similarity in the type of power found in family lines. Such is indeed the case. There is not only pressure within the family for children to acquire power similar to that of their parents but there is a tendency for the community in general to expect them to have the same type of power. The result is what appears to be the inheritance of power although theoretically it cannot be procured except in dreams.

Jones, his brother, and his son were all doctors. Helen, her father, and brother all had bullet proof power and she implied that her son would have had the power too if he had not been corrupted by the whites. She said that she had often warned him to be ready for dreams but that he had scoffed at her. J. Smith and his father had bullet proof power as did Dick Jones and his paternal grandfather and uncle.

The Brown family line had power in rattlesnakes. Minnie, her father, son, and granddaughter were all on friendly terms with rattlers. Mary and her mother were said to have power in antelope which made them swift runners.

Bad power as well as good seems to follow family lines. Mrs. Porter and her mother, father, brother, and husband were all thought to be sorcerers. Tom T. and his wife were considered to be killers and the community was beginning to suspect that their daughter, Betty, was going to be the same. Some informants stated that Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were sorcerers.

Thus there are constant pressures on the child to acquire power. In the first place, the child hears his parents and other older people discuss the gifted members of the community with respect and fear and develops a desire for power. Furthermore, his parents directly encourage him to acquire power by constantly telling him that he will dream and asking him to report the dreams so that they can help him interpret them. At times of illness and emotional stress they offer power as an explanation for the condition of the child. In these ways the parents teach the child to desire and expect a supernatural helper.[6]

Secondly, the child learns to imitate his parents[7] and if they are doctors or have other special gifts, he observes their rituals and performances and becomes adept himself. Part of this imitation is unguided and part of a general pattern of limita-

[6] For a discussion of the role of teaching in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs, see J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven, 1941), Chap. VIII.

[7] Cf. N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

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869 tion, but in most cases, the parents actually teach and encourage the child, although
756 they protest that he has really learned from a supernatural helper.

Thirdly, the desire for both material rewards and prestige induces the child to learn some specialized technique. A doctor, blood-letter, or eye scraper is paid for his services and is more respected than his less gifted neighbors.

[183 On the other hand, not all people have power and there are distinct disad-
577] vantages to seeking and acquiring it. In the first place, a person must behave well if he is to be befriended by a spirit. He must be a respected and conventional member of the community. Secondly, power is a tremendous responsibility. A person who has acquired a reputation is expected to live up to it. Thirdly, power is dangerous. Failure to obey commands and instructions will lead to sickness and even death.

It is natural that an individual should be placed in some conflict in deciding whether or not he really wants power. The predominance of power in family lines would seem to indicate that in general the pressures are strongest on children who have parents who are gifted and can teach them the special techniques and rituals.

[171] The importance of the concept of power in Paiute life can only be understood when one turns to other aspects of the culture. The complex beliefs and practices directly concerned with sickness and indirectly related to social control will be shown to be closely integrated with this concept.

Betty was also criticized for not taking care of her children, whom she left with her parents during her escapades. On the other hand, when she was home she seemed very kind to them.

All of these things made her very unpopular with the other women. Many of them felt that she was endangering all Paiute women's safety in Burns by going around with white men. They were very angry with her when she had affairs with their husbands. In spite of all this, however, several of the women explained to me that it really was not her fault, that she had wanted to get married and there had been a man who wanted to marry her, but that her mother had forbidden it. According to the accounts of the scenes that took place with her mother at this time, Betty had said to her mother, "It is as if you want me for yourself and won't let me marry anyone."

Almost everyone seemed to agree that poor Betty could not help herself, that her mother and father had made her into a mean person. They also said that so far she had not killed anyone, but that she said such mean things to people to their faces that maybe as she grew older she would get meaner and would get bad power.

Betty's case indicates the importance of personality traits in the genesis of a reputation for sorcery. Her aggressiveness toward other women, expressed both verbally and in stealing their husbands, was bringing social pressure upon her in the form of the accusation of sorcery. It is interesting that her aggressiveness came out when she was drunk and that the rest of the time she was quite friendly. Of importance also is the fact that she did not disobey her mother but allowed her to prohibit her marriage. In summary, the community felt that Betty was headed for a career of sorcery. They interpreted her aggressive and anti-social behavior in terms of meanness, but recognized that her parents were responsible for her personality.

The case against Anne J. is rather similar to that against Betty, although the charges are not so serious. In her case, as in Betty's, the women of the camp were the prime movers in circulating accusations of bad power, which were motivated primarily by anger with her for having affairs with their husbands. Furthermore she had a bad attack of gonorrhea which she gave to most of the men in the camp. Helen, again, was one of the leaders in the gossip. Joe was having an affair with Anne while I was in Burns and Helen was extremely jealous. All the women envied and feared Anne because the men considered her an unusually talented sexual partner. Her husband was evidently not very jealous, or, if he was, did not show it in his actions and did not restrain her philanderings.

Anne's mother was one of the oldest women in the camp. Vague rumors circulated that she too had bad power. These accusations seemed to have been founded on the fact that as a young girl she had behaved quite aberrantly. It is said that she wore trousers and rode a horse like a man. She went everywhere with her hus-

band and did not associate with the women. Anne's sister was Mrs. Porter's mother, who, as reported above, was also said to have been a mean person.

During the course of my field work, Anne's oldest daughter, Clara, was murdered by her husband. Clara, who had recently had a baby, was living at home with her mother while her husband, Henry, was in Seneca piling brush for the lumber company. According to reports, Clara philandered while he was away and contracted gonorrhea. He returned one week-end and soon after developed gonorrhea. The next time he came to Burns he demanded that Clara return with him to Seneca and evidently blamed Anne for Clara's condition. He told her to cook supper and then get ready to leave with him. He was drunk at the time and Anne told Clara not to pay any attention to him. He got angry and drew a gun on Anne. A struggle ensued and he accidentally shot and killed Clara while trying to shoot Anne. Anne was wounded in the shoulder. Henry then tried to shoot himself, but failed to do more than wound himself seriously. He was arrested by the police and taken away. Anne was distraught. She blamed two other girls for the whole affair, saying that they had gotten Henry drunk before they came down from Seneca. In her anger she went into their house while they were away and cut up some hides they had hanging to dry. The community was unanimous in judging this behavior as excessively aggressive. They also blamed her in part for the murder of Clara and the arrest of Henry.

About this time rumors began to circulate that Anne had killed her brother, who had died several years before. This was the only accusation of actual sorcery made against her, and it seems to be a charge made long after the actual event. However, I do not know the circumstances surrounding this death and it may be that some people accused her at the time.

As in the case of Betty, the real criticisms and anger at Anne came from the women because she had affairs with their husbands. They thought that she must have some kind of power or else she would not dare to antagonize so many women. Her behavior at the time of her daughter's death was considered too aggressive and added more grist to the gossip mill.

Mrs. M. and her mother, Hetty, were members of the community who were said by some to have bad power. The gossip about them was particularly interesting inasmuch as I got both the accusation made against them by others and their own stories. According to Helen, both Mrs. M. and Hetty had been publicly accused of sorcery. Hetty was said to have power in blood which made anyone with whom she was angry sick in the stomach and made their bowel movements bloody. I asked how Helen knew this and she told me that Dr. Harry had worked on a woman who was sick and said that Hetty's power had caused the trouble. I asked Mrs. M. whether Hetty had power and she told me that she had power in bullets, that she dreamed about guns and how they hit the ground and made the dirt fly.

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quieted the men and stopped the fight. When Helen fought Anne, the people stood around and watched until they thought things had gone far enough. Then they hauled Helen off Anne. In this way the community, often led by a relative of one of the fighters, steps in to keep retaliation from going too far. The crowd standing around and watching a fight, therefore, functions in a sense as a judiciary body. When they agree among themselves that the retaliation has gone far enough, they stop the fight. Very often the relative who steps in, backed by the crowd, is a brother or cousin of the person who is getting the best of the fight, rather than a relative of the person getting beaten. It is to his advantage to check the violence, as he and his relatives will be held responsible if the retaliation goes too far.

Payment of the wergild before it is demanded often prevents retaliatory feuds from starting. The family of the woman who shot her rival felt it safest to pay blood money in spite of the fact that there was some justification for the crime. This was also seen to be the case in the murders which resulted from fights over nonfulfillment of obligations.

The second type of fear which functions as a method of social control, the fear of being accused of sorcery, serves as a more indirect method of controlling retaliation. Indication of the general way in which the fear of being accused of sorcery works in social control has been given in previous chapters; it also operates as a check to retaliation as indicated by the following evidence. Informants stated that if a man was a good person with good thoughts, he would do nothing if his wife went off with another man. Only people with bad thoughts, according to this report, fight their rivals. One informant said in this connection that he was most surprised that Tom T., mean as he was, did not go after the man that stole his first wife. Concerning theft it was stated that only people with bad thoughts took revenge by entering the house of the suspect and destroying some of his property. Informants stated that ideally a person should ask the suspect on two different occasions whether he had stolen the property and if he denied it both times, no further action should be taken. Dick Jonas praised Maggie Jonas for not taking action against the people she suspected of stealing her money and said that it was because she was good. On the other hand, informants stated that if a person avenged himself against a thief by entering his house and destroying some of his property, the thief should not retaliate. Concerning killing a person's horse without permission it was stated that only a mean man would refuse to pay damages when accused. It was said that to hold a loser too closely to his debt in any gambling game is mean and that a good person would suggest that a loser who did not want to give up what he had actually bet pay in some other way. It has also been seen that what is considered unprovoked retaliation is taken as evidence of sorcery power.

There is then a conflict between the stated ideals of what one should do when wronged and the theory of an eye for an eye retaliation. The group who passes judgment on whether retaliation is within reason (and the best course of action)

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626 627 183 are not merely the relatives of the disputants but the entire community. They serve as an informal judiciary. They listen to the gossip, help pass along all the facts they hear, and again through the channel of gossip let it be known what they think of the merits of the case. Inasmuch as public opinion is very important and a man cannot afford to be considered mean, the relatives of the disputants keep their ears close to the ground and exert their strong family influence over the individual involved in the fight. An example of this is seen in the case of Maggie Jonas. [685] When she lost her money she suspected a certain person. She went and told her cousin, Dick Jonas, the name of the person she suspected. According to custom she could have accused this person directly and, if he refused to return the money, she could have destroyed some of his property. Dick Jonas talked the matter over with Maggie and with Helen, his daughter, and his son-in-law. They decided that Maggie really did not have enough evidence and that she had better not accuse the person. However, by this time, the gossip had gone the rounds of the entire camp, and the person accused undoubtedly felt nervous whether he had committed the [681] offense or not. In a sense Maggie had retaliated by casting suspicion on him, but she was restrained from further action by the fact that her relatives did not want to support the case. Had her family and the community backed her more strongly and added evidence and support through the channel of gossip, Maggie might have taken a stronger stand. On the other hand, had she gone beyond their decision of what was just, she would have been criticized and considered "mean."

[754] The fear of being accused of sorcery, besides checking retaliation, functions as a deterrent to any anti-social behavior. As was seen in the chapter on the sorcerer, even minor anti-social behavior such as appearing angry or not speaking pleasantly to people is sanctioned by this fear. Here again the community functions as a [208] judiciary body, collecting its evidence and circulating its opinions through the channel of gossip. The doctor also has a judiciary role. His decision that a person [756] is a sorcerer and his statements to this effect, as handed down in the diagnosis of disease, give legal validity to the accusations.

[754] The fear of sorcery itself is the third type of fear which functions in social control. A sorcerer may retaliate by using his power instead of retaliating physically or demanding payment. For example, Mrs. Porter is said to have punished Sophie for stealing her beads by killing her mother by sorcery. Another woman with bad power made Sophie sick because she stole her husband. The Porters killed Polly because they felt her sister was responsible for the death of their son. Mrs. Porter killed a Chinaman for making advances to her daughter. Tom T. used his power twice to punish people who were too aggressive in playing games. But beyond these specific fears of people who are known to have power there is the fear that there are people who may have power. They may be the very individuals a person harms when he commits an offense, or they may be relatives of these individuals. [776] Furthermore, it is believed that people with power can find out by virtue of their

spirit helpers exactly who committed an offense even if they have no clues. This fear, like the fear of being accused of sorcery, also sanctions a myriad of minor aggressive acts which might antagonize a sorcerer.

These three fears—the fear of retaliation, of being accused of sorcery, and of sorcery itself—constitute the strongest motivation for behaving socially. Murder, assault, adultery, theft, and nonfulfillment of obligations are sanctioned by the fear of retaliation, the injured person and his family acting as sanctioning agents. Excessive retaliation and any anti-social behavior from impoliteness to adultery and theft are sanctioned by accusations of sorcery power. The sanctioning agents in this case are not only the family and relatives of the wronged person but the doctor and the community as a whole. This fear is backed up by the threat of retaliation in the form of mob violence led by the relatives of the wronged person should the accused really become known as a sorcerer. Sorcery itself sanctions any offense which is considered anti-social. The agent in this case is the sorcerer, who may be the person wronged or one of his relatives.

Besides these fears, which keep people from doing what they are not supposed to do, there are fears which prevent people from not doing what they are supposed to do. The most important of these is a person's fear that his own power will make him sick if he does not act as his spirit helper has instructed. A person singled out to be a bullet proof man and a warrior must behave in a fearless fashion and act as a leader in times of war or he will sicken and perhaps die. A person who is supposed to serve the community as a doctor must carry out this role. Good power is usually socially useful and puts an extra burden upon its possessor in his relation with the community. A man who gets this endowment must make use of it. Both the community and the doctor pass judgment on his behavior, but the doctor plays the most important role. In the diagnosis of disease he points out the people who are not living up to their potentialities, in so far as he tells them that they are sick from disobeying their own power. He also judges who should be rewarded by being known as a man with spiritual gifts. As in the case of accusations of sorcery, his word gives authority to community gossip.